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159 862 152 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

809 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

693 865 152 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privileges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapukan. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

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fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pukotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother Liaki (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Timoiaara (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-